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#### CONCLUSION OF MOSCOW SUMMIT

#### Summary

Media in major foreign news centers concluded from President Nixon's televised speech to the Soviet people and Party chief Brezhnev's remarks at the closing banquet that the Moscow summit had produced only modest results but had institutionalized the dialogue of the superpowers.

These were among such judgments:

- -- The Manchester Guardian noted that "there is no comprehensive SALT agreement. The two sides could not overcome their difficulties in time. But they have agreed on the guidelines of the negotiations."
- -- France-Soir of Paris reported that "the meeting is not ending negatively.... It establishes the principle of regular conversations... and confirms the institutional means to continue the contacts on difficult problems."
- --Die Welt of Hamburg carried a Moscow report that "both the Russians and the Americans...have learned their lessons. Neither side wants to 'defeat,' 'overtake,' or 'bury' the other.... Now they want to talk rather than fight..."
- --Rome TV said, "The concrete results are unexceptional but the dialogue continues."

Fear of nuclear proliferation and atomic war pervaded much comment.

The Austrian radio said of the final communique, "There were no surprises. No SALT II agreement was reached. Negotiations on offensive weapons clearly failed to overcome the deadlock that occurred at Geneva... The ABM agreement merely reflects the current state of affairs."

Karachi's Morning News said "the superpowers...must know that delay can be dangerous" because the "balance of terror theory has been further reinforced since some states have acquired nuclear devices....India's nuclear explosion is encouraging others to join the deadly game..."

Moscow TASS today carried the texts of the final communique, Mr. Brezhnev's dinner remarks and Mr. Nixon's TV speech. It reported that the foreign press "regards the summit meeting as an event of paramount significance for further normalization of relations between the U.S. and the USSR and for positive development of the international situation as a whole."

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#### London: "Limited Pact on Arms"

British papers today headlined Mr. Brezhnev's dinner remarks and noted Mr. Nixon's broadcast address. Correspondents reported agreement on guidelines for SALT negotiations.

These were headlines:

"BREZHNEV DISCLOSURE OF MISSILES AGREEMENT"
(Times of London)

"BREZHNEV CLAIMS SUMMIT DEAL ON MISSILES" (Daily Telegraph)

"LIMITED PACT ON ARMS AT SUMMIT"
(Financial Times)

"U.S. AND RUSSIA AGREE ON ARMS" (Guardian)

Correspondent Hella Pick of the liberal Guardian reported from Moscow that "there is no comprehensive SALT agreement. The two sides could not overcome their difficulties in time. But they have agreed on the guidelines of the negotiations. Mr. Brezhnev did not appear to be discouraged at all at the failure to make the decisive breakthrough towards a comprehensive agreement on the limitations of strategic nuclear arms."

## "Brezhnev Was Factual, Nixon More General"

Reporting from Moscow, U.S. editor Paul Lewis of the independent <u>Financial Times</u> noted that Mr. Brezhnev had said that U.S.-Soviet "agreements could have been broader, thus publicly criticizing President Nixon in a way that is unusual in the arcane language of diplomacy, and naturally suggests his domestic problems make it hard for him to negotiate effectively.

"Moreover, the whole tenor of his speech, which was crisp, factual and to the point, contrasts with Mr. Nixon's more general defense of detente in his ritual TV address to the Russian people."

### "Failure on Permanent Arms Agreement Not Unexpected"

Correspondent Stephen Barber of the conservative London <u>Daily Telegraph</u> wrote in Moscow that "the failure of the leaders' third summit meeting to achieve a permanent strategic arms limitation agreement was not unexpected.

"Mr. Nixon, weakened politically by Watergate, was not in a position to reach one, and the Russians would not budge from their previous bargaining position."

#### "Results Should Not Be Decried in Advance"

The paper observed today in an editorial that "Mr. Nixon is accused of seeking a meretricious success as relief from Watergate. But this was said of his Middle East tour, which turned out to be a triumph--albeit one notably unrewarded with laurels.

"In reality, much of the sudden awakening to the dangers of detente is part of the psychological warfare in a vendetta against Mr. Nixon and Dr. Kissinger.

"It is, of course, to be hoped that the mood of increased realism about Russian motives, however generated, may persist; that the voice of the doves will remain muted. Indeed, the record arms budget, for which Mr. Nixon and Dr. Kissinger themselves asked in order to be able to stand up to Mr. Brezhnev, was duly granted."

The paper noted that "Solzhenitsyn says it is disastrous for Nixon to negotiate with the Kremlin from weakness. Basically he is right. Much better for the West, in present circumstances, to sit tight until its house and its defenses are in order. For when Solzhenitsyn says Nixon is weak he is not thinking--as the President's critics so dishonestly pretend--of Watergate, but of NATO, and especially of Europe. But Europe does not want negotiations with Russia broken off. Nor do most of Mr. Nixon's critics--least of all the neo-hawks and the muted doves.

"The results of Mr. Nixon's visit, instead of being decried in advance, should be awaited, fairly examined and then accepted or rejected on their merits."

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## "Trade Agreement Only a Gesture"

A correspondent for the independent <u>Times</u> of London remarked today that "the world may get the impression that indeed a great new era of Soviet-U.S. trade relations has dawned." He commented:

"The pact is really nothing more than a cosmetic gesture and an attempt by the Americans to hide from the Russians the simple truth that trading relations between the two countries are far from being normalized.... The greatest stride forward that would be made towards normalizing trade relations between the U.S. and Russia would be an easing of Russian emigration policies."

Today's conservative Yorkshire Post of Leeds said President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union seemed to have run into "some stumbling blocks," and this might have something to do with the British and French nuclear deterrents, "which the Kremlin seems determined to sabotage." As reported by the BBC the paper referred to the warning given yesterday by Defense Minister Roy Mason about Soviet military strength. It remarked that if President Nixon were equally realistic in Moscow there might not be much to worry about.

## Paris TV: Film Clips of Nixon Speech

French commentators on the eve of the end of the summit generally agreed that the sessions had produced only limited results but saw hope in the continuation of the dialogue between the superpowers.

Large excerpts of President Nixon's address over Soviet radio and television were carried on state-run French television. A correspondent said the address, while "awaited with interest, was disappointing." He added:

"While U.S.-USSR relations have made considerable progress, the road to detente and peace continues to be by way of limitation of nuclear armaments and many difficulties are still to be solved."

Both networks mentioned Secretary Kissinger's planned stop in Brussels tomorrow "to inform NATO" about the President's Moscow visit.

Headlines in the Paris press today were generally negative: "Long Negotiations for a Very Modest Result" (moderate-right Aurore); "The Summit Gives Birth to a Mouse" (intellectual-left Quotidien de Paris). Correspondents' reports, however, were more hopeful.

### "Not Ending Negatively"

From Moscow, Adalbert de Segonzac predicted in moderate-left France-Soir today:

"The final communique...will confirm that little progress has been made. The limitation of strategic nuclear weapons has turned out to be a very difficult obstacle. That was expected, but it does not prevent general disappointment.

"But the meeting is not ending negatively... It establishes the principal of regular conversations between the Americans and the Soviets, and confirms the institutional means to continue the contacts on difficult problems."

### "Begins a Process"

Similarly, the two <u>Figaro</u> correspondents in Moscow wrote that "only one thing was really certain" as the summit drew to a close: "They will meet again next year." Their report added:

"Whatever one may think of the value of these high-level meetings, it must be recognized that in their wake begins a process which may either bear concrete results or at least prevent open confrontation when an obstacle blocks the road...."

Yesterday they wrote that in Moscow, the "overflow of friendship and all the publicity about the meeting of the chief of the most powerful capitalist nation with the leader of Communism upsets the hawks.

"There have been whispers about the old ideologue, Mikhail Suslov, who is still holding on...and who is responsible for the stiffening of the 'hawks.' One recalls--Brezhnev better than anyone else--that Suslov was the principal actor in the plot that ditched Khrushchev."

#### West German TV: Nixon Speech Excerpts

Both West German television networks broadcast film clips of President Nixon's televised address in Moscow. Late news shows reported the signing of the agreements on ABMs and underground nuclear tests.

Correspondent Ingeborg Wurster stated on the second television network that both President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev "got what they wanted and needed--press photos and TV spots, but on the eve of the President's departure, we are still waiting for the fruits of their talks....

"There seems to be agreement on cutting back on the ABM systems, but this is not significant; rather it is merely dust thrown into the public eye. No agreement has been reached on MIRVs, the most crucial issue for Nixon and Kissinger."

## "U.S. Posture Affected by Congress"

A Moscow correspondent of the first TV network asserted that the U.S. posture in the Moscow talks "has to a very great extent been determined by the knowledge that the conference results will be very closely and suspiciously examined by the Congress."

Newspapers in West Germany and West Berlin today gave top play to the signing of three agreements in Moscow and reports of President Nixon's TV address. Headlines stressed his remarks about the "difficulties" of the disarmament issue.

# "U.S., Soviets Want to Talk, Not Fight"

The Moscow correspondent of right-center <u>Die Welt</u>, commenting on President Nixon's TV address, contrasted Mr. Nixon's views of the USSR expressed in his ''kitchen debate'' in 1959 and those he expressed in the TV address yesterday, and concluded:

"Both the Russians and the Americans, in the meantime, have learned their lessons. Neither side wants to 'defeat,' 'overtake,' or 'bury' the other; no one talks about 'rollback' as a policy any more. U.S.-USSR relations are marked now by mutual respect. Now they want to talk rather than fight each other."

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#### "Nixon's Positive Note"

An article in pro-Christian Democratic Rheinische Post, Duesseldorf, also found the results of the summit conference 'meager...although the President struck the positive note when he said that each step brings us closer together, and that they would meet again in 1975 in a climate of confidence.

"He continues to be the optimist.... While Kissinger, America's political Wunderkind, continues the contacts with the Kremlin..."

Social Democratic party weekly <u>Vorwaerts</u> concluded that the two principals had entered the negotiations "with their hands tied, so their efforts to persuade each other were bound to fail....

"This does not mean failure of the policy of detente. Basically their bargaining about arms does not change the fact that both sides realize that although military strength is indispensable, political and economic reason call for balanced arms limitations..."

#### Rome TV: "The Dialogue Continues"

A correspondent for state-controlled Italian TV reported last night from Moscow:

"Today was rather a difficult day for Nixon. One can guess from many signs that obstacles came up at the last minute that risked making the summit's final outcome poorer than the Americans expected...

"It is important to negotiate in order to reduce distances wherever possible... The concrete results are unexceptional but the dialogue continues."

# "Compromise on 'Irreversible Detente"

In a front-page story datelined Moscow, conservative <u>Il Tempo</u> of Rome reported this morning:

"The summit ends without surprises and with agreements which were almost taken for granted in advance..."

Its Washington correspondent, Marino de Medici, remarked: "The summit represents a political compromise... between Nixon's thesis of continuous superpower cooperation and the Kremlin's of 'irreversible detente.'

"The result of such a political compromise is the plan for a fourth summit, which is doubtless a positive development in international affairs."

#### Communist Paper: "Reopens the Dialogue"

Pro-Communist Paese Sera of Rome declared today, "The third U.S.-Soviet summit does not end the game but expands and consolidates areas of agreement between the two superpowers and reopens the dialogue..."

### Vienna: "Communique Supports Soviets on CSCE Meeting"

A correspondent in Moscow for the Austrian radio summarized the summit outcome on a midday newscast today. He commented:

"There were no surprises. No SALT II agreement was reached. Negotiations on offensive weapons clearly failed to overcome the deadlock that occurred in Geneva... The ABM agreement merely reflects the current state of affairs.

"Nixon has clearly yielded to Soviet urging for an early convocation of the last phases of CSCE... The final communique supports this Soviet demand."

# Brussels: Detente and Sakharov's Hunger Strike

Independent <u>Le Soir</u> of Brussels declared today, "Of course, the President is right when he refuses to make democratization of the Soviet Union a condition of detente." However, it said, neither he nor Secretary Kissinger could "afford to remain passive when Sakharov threatens to starve himself to death...

"While it is true that detente does not mean that Western-style democracy must be introduced into Russia....detente is necessary if we are to ensure the survival of democratic government in the West. And that task would be impossible if detente lacked a human face."

### Tokyo Reports Nixon TV Speech

Japanese television networks reported today that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev had failed to reach agreement on SALT because of differences on limiting the use of MIRVs. They also carried reports of Mr. Nixon's TV and radio address to the Russian people.

#### "Striving For a Framework"

Moderate Yomiuri reported today that "there is a strong feeling between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that even if the two sides fail to reach a basic SALT settlement they will strive to prove the significance and effectiveness of the summit talks by establishing a framework for ongoing arms limitations talks."

#### Manila: "U.S. Pessimism on MIRVs"

Philippine television stressed "Washington pessimism that the two leaders could not reach an agreement on multiple warhead nuclear missiles."

#### Saigon: "Economic Agreement Insignificant"

<u>Dai Dan Toc</u> of Saigon yesterday expressed doubts about current summit accomplishments, stating that the ten-year agreement on economic cooperation should be considered insignificant 'because it seemingly only reiterates the content of an agreement signed in 1972.''

The paper said, "Since President Nixon has been advised by Mr. Brezhnev to remain in office and has been protected by the latter against the criticism and suspicion of public opinion concerning the trip's results, American public opinion is becoming even more suspicious. How could there be such shameless praise exchanged between politicians if they were not trying to protect their own interests?"

## Bangkok: "Institutionalizing the Avoidance of War"

The pro-U.S. <u>Bangkok World</u> said today that President Nixon's trip "was designed to minimize the danger that the U.S. and the USSR might some day wage war against one another." It concluded that the basic antagonism between the two countries has not "lost its force," but that the world should be grateful that "the avoidance of war is becoming institutionalized."

## New Delhi: "A Principle Emerges"

Indian papers today summarized President Nixon's address to the Russian people.

In an editorial headed "Shopping at the Summit," the <u>Financial Express</u> of New Delhi and Bombay today suggested that the principle which appeared to have emerged from the summit talks was "compromise where interests conflict; cooperate where interests coincide."

Reviewing the extent of economic cooperation envisaged in various summit agreements, the paper said:

"All of these indicate that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are searching for and successfully finding a 'useful fit' between their conflicting economic systems. It is precisely this fit, conceding as it does the validity and the utility of both systems, that promises to shrink likely areas of conflict."

### "Most See Detente Irreversible"

A correspondent for the <u>Hindu</u> of Madras wrote in a London dispatch today, "Most observers agree that the process of Soviet-American detente is now irreversible and that there is a political will of sorts on both sides to achieve this. This achieves credence in view of the smooth summit meeting, in spite of 'awesome' technical and political difficulties."

# Karachi: Indian Test and Arms-Control Delay

In an editorial today on the summit, the pro-Government Morning News of Karachi said "it is vitally important for the superpowers to do something concrete to limit strategic arms instead of postponing that decision for a future date. They must know that delay can be dangerous" because the "balance of terror theory has been further reinforced since some states have acquired nuclear devices" and "their capability...can be used as an effective weapon to blackmail the small nations...India's nuclear explosion is encouraging others to join the deadly game...."

### Tel Aviv: "No Agreement on Middle East"

Israeli media prominently played President Nixon's radio and TV speech to the Soviet nation and reported details of the U.S.-USSR accord.

Independent Maariv of Tel Aviv stated today:

"The Brezhnev-Nixon summit has apparently not resulted in a broad consensus between the two superpowers. The agreement on arms limitations falls short of original expectations...

"On the Middle East, no agreement whatsoever has been reached...

The Soviets have not forgiven the Americans their success...

Moscow's unreserved support for the terrorist organizations can
jeopardize Kissinger's successful efforts in this region..."

## Lagos: "The Hand of Fellowship"

A writer in Lagos' <u>Daily Sketch</u> cited the Khrushchev memoirs yesterday as calling President Nixon 'a man of reactionary views, a man hostile to the Soviet Union,' and said that if Mr. Khrushchev were alive today, 'he would realize that this was an erroneous impression. President Nixon has opened his hands of fellowship to the Kremlin through the pursuance of the policy of detente.'

## Moscow Play of Summit Events

Moscow TASS circulated the texts in English of the joint communique, of Mr. Brezhnev's speech at the banquet and of the text of Mr. Nixon's television address.

It also carried several reports of aspects of the joint communique and of the documents and agreements signed.

The news agency today reported that the Soviet press "continues to highlight the Soviet-American negotiations." It noted that SALT, limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests, the Middle East, and MBFR were among issues discussed.

The report stated that Party chief Brezhnev had said at a dinner given in his honor by President Nixon at the U.S. Embassy that the results of the negotiations "will be another confirmation of the determination of both sides to continue developing and deepening the ties and cooperation between our countries in many spheres and acting in the international arena in favor of detente."

### Report of Foreign Press Approval

The agency said Soviet newspapers prominently played Mr. Nixon's television appearance. It said that the foreign press "regards the summit meeting as an event of paramount significance for further normalization of relations between the U.S. and the USSR and for positive development of the international situation as a whole."